

HART-TEETER
1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 234-5570

Interviews: 1009 Respondents
Dates: January 15-18, 1994

47 Male
53 Female
[5]

FINAL

Study #4045
NBC News/WSJ
January 1994

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Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least 18 years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who has had the most recent birthday? **(IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:)** Well, of the ones you do know, who has had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? **(IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)**

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, SAY:) Here is my first question. **(PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)**

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, SAY:)

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least 18 years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? **(IF "YES," SAY:)** Here is my first question. **(PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)**

1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district in which you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Registered	7	[15]
	9]
Not registered.....	2	
	1	
Not sure.....	-	

2. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

	1/94	12/9	10/93	9/93	7/93	6/93	4/9	3/93	1/93	12/9	5/9	9/9	
Right direction.....	39	35	27	33	27	27	37	43	47	45	15	34	[16]
Wrong track.....	42	42	54	49	55	56	44	35	27	32	71	48]
Mixed (VOL).....	13	16	14	12	13	10	11	11	14	11	9	13	
Not sure.....	6	7	5	6	5	7	8	11	12	12	5	5	

3. What would you say are the **two or three** most important issues or problems facing the nation today that you personally would like to see the federal government in Washington do something about? (**DO NOT READ CHOICES**. ACCEPT NO MORE THAN THREE RESPONSES. BE SURE TO CLASSIFY PROPERLY. IF UNSURE, WRITE RESPONSES BELOW. IF "ECONOMY," PROBE FOR SPECIFICS.)

	<u>1/94</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
<u>ECONOMY</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>48</u>	
Economy generally.....	9	22	[17]
Farm problems, agriculture, drought.....	1	-	>
Inflation, prices.....	2	2	
Interest rates.....	-	1	
Jobs, unemployment.....	20	25	
New industry needed.....	1	1	
Trade, imports.....	1	2	
Wages, better jobs.....	2	2	
<u>FOREIGN POLICY/DEFENSE</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>17</u>	
Central/Latin America.....	-	1	[18]
Defense spending--cut defense budget.....	1	1	>
Defense--strengthen.....	2	1	
Eastern Europe.....	-	-	
Foreign aid--reduce.....	3	2	
Foreign policy.....	3	4	
Middle East, Iraq.....	-	5	
Russia, former Soviet republics.....	1	-	
Somalia, Africa, famine.....	-	2	
War; keep peace; nuclear arms race.....	1	2	
Yugoslavia, Bosnia, Serbia.....	1	1	
North Korea.....	-		
<u>CRIME/DRUGS</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>13</u>	
Gun control--against.....	3	-	[19]
Gun control--for.....	5	1	>
TV violence.....	1	NA	
Crime, violence.....	33	9	
Drugs.....	11	6	

Q.3a (cont'd)

	<u>1/94</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
<u>TAXES/GOVERNMENT SPENDING</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>37</u>	
Budget deficit.....	7	24	[20]
Government waste, mismanagement.....	5	5	>
Taxes--too high.....	5	6	
Taxes--unfair.....	1	4	
Welfare abuse.....	2	3	
Welfare reform.....	5	NA	
<u>SOCIAL PROGRAMS</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>35</u>	[21]
Child care, day care.....	1	2	>
Education, schools.....	14	14	
Elderly.....	2	3	
Homelessness.....	12	12	
Housing.....	2	1	
Poverty, social services.....	4	3	
Social Security, senior citizens.....	2	3	
AIDS.....	1	3	
<u>HEALTH CARE</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>38+</u>	
Cost.....	21	NA	[22]
Access.....	13	NA	>
Quality.....	6	NA	
<u>OTHER DOMESTIC PROBLEMS</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>18</u>	
Abortion--pro-choice.....	1	4	[23]
Abortion--pro-life.....	2	5	>
Censorship, limiting free speech.....	1	1	
Morality values.....	4	3	
Racism.....	2	1	
Environment, pollution, toxic wastes.....	2	3	
Government corruption.....	2	NA	
Other.....	3	2	
None/not sure.....	4	3	

4. I'm going to read you the names of several public figures and institutions. I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so. **(READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewha t Positive</u>	<u>Neu -tral</u>	<u>Somewha t Negative</u>	<u>Very Negativ e</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
Bill Clinton							
January 1994.....	20	35	17	14	14	-	[24]
December 1993.....	22	33	15	15	14	1	
November 1993.....	24	30	14	14	16	2	
October 1993.....	16	30	18	16	19	1	
September 1993.....	18	32	15	17	17	1	
July 1993.....	15	31	17	16	20	1	
June 1993.....	16	28	15	17	23	1	
April 1993.....	25	27	18	13	16	1	
March 1993.....	26	30	15	12	14	3	
January 1993.....	33	31	15	9	7	5	
December 1992.....	26	34	18	10	9	3	
May 1992.....	8	24	24	23	14	7	
Ross Perot							
January 1994.....	7	16	20	26	28	3	[25]
December 1993.....	7	16	19	24	30	4	
November 1993.....	11	17	21	20	27	4	
October 1993.....	11	19	25	22	20	3	
September 1993.....	12	24	26	19	16	3	
July 1993.....	13	24	25	17	17	4	
June 1993.....	16	25	24	16	15	4	
April 1993.....	17	27	27	15	11	3	
March 1993.....	16	31	25	13	11	4	
January 1993.....	16	26	24	16	14	4	
December 1992.....	13	22	27	18	15	5	
Boris Yeltsin							
January 1994.....	8	35	30	7	5	15	[26]
April 1993.....	9	32	28	8	4	19	
August 1991*.....	21	29	20	9	3	18	
June 1991*.....	8	25	19	4	1	42	
July 1990*.....	2	10	14	5	3	66	
Bob Dole							
January 1994.....	13	29	21	14	9	14	[27]
October 1993.....	12	26	24	14	10	14	
September 1993.....	13	25	24	14	10	14	
July 1993.....	10	22	25	14	13	16	
June 1993.....	15	25	24	12	10	14	
Q.4. (cont'd)							
	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewha t Positive</u>	<u>Neu -tral</u>	<u>Somewha t Negative</u>	<u>Very Negativ e</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
Janet Reno							
January 1994.....	13	24	20	11	11	21	[28]

June 1993.....	18	20	18	8	5	31	
Hillary Rodham Clinton							
January 1994.....	24	27	15	14	18	2	[29]
December 1993.....	26	27	17	11	17	2	
October 1993.....	22	26	17	14	19	2	
September 1993.....	20	26	21	13	17	3	
July 1993.....	20	30	19	12	17	2	
June 1993.....	21	26	18	12	19	4	
April 1993.....	25	28	18	12	14	3	
March 1993.....	25	29	18	11	12	5	
January 1993.....	27	30	21	8	8	6	
December 1992.....	21	25	25	8	11	10	
The Republican Party							
January 1994.....	12	30	29	16	9	4	[30]
October 1993.....	16	28	27	15	11	3	
April 1993.....	9	30	26	18	13	4	
March 1993.....	8	27	23	22	16	4	
October 1992*.....	10	21	19	23	24	3	
October 1991*.....	12	32	21	17	14	4	
October 1990*.....	11	27	24	20	14	4	
The Democratic Party							
January 1994.....	11	29	29	17	11	3	[31]
October 1993.....	11	25	26	20	15	3	
April 1993.....	15	29	22	18	13	3	
March 1993.....	15	32	20	18	12	3	
October 1992*.....	19	29	22	15	12	3	
October 1991*.....	12	25	24	21	13	5	
October 1990*.....	12	27	30	19	8	4	
Al Gore							
January 1994.....	17	31	23	13	10	6	[32]
December 1993.....	18	29	25	13	10	5	
November 1993.....	21	31	22	13	11	2	
October 1993.....	14	28	25	13	14	6	
September 1993.....	17	30	24	12	12	5	
March 1993.....	19	28	23	12	9	9	
January 1993.....	23	32	22	9	6	8	
December 1992.....	21	30	21	10	9	9	

5a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing as president?

	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
Approve.....	60	56	<u>3</u> 47	50	<u>3</u> 45	<u>3</u> 41	52	57	51	[33 1]
Disapprove.....	31	33	43	39	45	50	34	26	16	
Not sure.....	9	11	10	11	10	9	14	17	33	

(FORM A)

5b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling the economy?

	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
Approve.....	50	48	40	42	40	33	45	52	[34]
Disapprove.....	39	39	50	48	51	56	40	28	
Not sure.....	11	13	10	10	9	11	15	20	

(BOTH FORMS)

5c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling our foreign policy?

	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
Approve.....	53	45	33	47	50	38	47	47	[35]
Disapprove.....	31	40	58	34	36	43	30	22	
Not sure.....	16	15	9	19	14	19	23	31	

5d. Looking ahead to the next election for president, if Bill Clinton runs for reelection as the Democratic candidate, will you definitely vote for Bill Clinton in that election, probably vote for Bill Clinton, probably vote for the Republican candidate, or definitely vote for the Republican candidate?

	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	
Definitely vote for Clinton.....	15	18	11	[36]
Probably vote for Clinton.....	26	24	25	
Probably vote for the Republican candidate.....	17	19	20	
Definitely vote for the Republican candidate.....	15	16	19	
Depends (VOL).....	18	16	14	
Neither (VOL).....	2	2	2	
Ross Perot (VOL).....	1	1	2	
Not sure.....	6	6	7	

5e. Do you think America is in a state of decline, or do you feel that this is not the case?

	<u>1/94</u>	<u>2/92*</u>	<u>1/92*</u>	<u>12/91*</u>	<u>10/91*</u>	
Is in a state of decline.....	49	66	63	63	53	[37]
Is not in a state of decline.....	44	30	31	32	42	
Not sure.....	7	4	6	5	5	

* Asked only of registered voters

6a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing?

	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>4/92*</u>	<u>10/91</u>	<u>7/91*</u>	<u>10/90</u>	
						<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>		*		*	
Approve.....	33	30	29	24	27	27	27	15	26	28	22	[38]
Disapprove.....	54	56	60	65	60	61	56	78	62	63	69	1
Not sure.....	13	14	11	11	13	12	17	7	12	9	9	

*Asked only of registered voters.

6b. Looking ahead to this year's election for U.S. Congress, do you feel your representative deserves to be reelected, or do you think it is time to give a new person a chance?

	<u>1/94</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>10/92*</u>	<u>9/92</u>	<u>7/92*</u>	<u>4/92*</u>	<u>2/92*</u>	<u>1/92*</u>	
						*					
Reelect representative.....	35	34	37	30	31	31	27	33	37	42	[39]
Give new person a chance...	47	52	47	55	56	56	62	57	52	48	
Not sure.....	18	14	16	15	13	13	11	10	11	10	

	<u>12/91</u>	<u>10/91</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>
	*	*	*	*
	35	40	39	41
	52	48	48	36
	13	12	13	23

*Asked only of registered

6c. In this year's election for U.S. Congress, do you plan to vote for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate in your district?

	<u>1/94</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>11/92</u>	<u>10/92</u>	<u>9/92</u>	<u>8/92</u>	<u>7/92</u>	<u>10/90</u>	
				<u>3</u>	*	*	*	*	*	*	
Vote for the Republican candidate.....	29	34	29	31	35	29	32	29	31	33	[40]
Vote for the Democratic candidate.....	34	32	32	32	45	46	43	43	35	35	1
Depends (VOL).....	21	21	24	25	4	6	7	7	11	14	
Neither (VOL).....	2	2	2	3	1	2	1	2	3	2	
Not sure.....	14	11	13	9	15	17	17	19	20	16	

*Asked only of registered voters.

- 6d. In general, do you think it is better for the same political party to control both the Congress and the presidency, so they can work together more closely, or do you think it is better to have different political parties controlling the Congress and the presidency to prevent either one from going too far?

	<u>1/94</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>10/92</u>	<u>9/92*</u>	<u>8/92*</u>	<u>7/92</u>	
		<u>3</u>		*			*	
Better if same party controls Congress and the presidency.....	33	30	37	39	40	43	40	[41]
Better if different parties control Congress and the presidency.....	56	58	51	47	46	44	47	
Not sure.....	11	12	12	14	14	13	13	
		<u>4/92</u>	<u>1/92*</u>	<u>10/91</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>1/90*</u>	<u>9/86</u>	
		*		*	*		*	
		32	28	24	23	24	28	
		61	62	67	67	63	64	
		7	10	9	10	13	8	

*Asked only of registered voters.

- 6e. Do you believe Bill Clinton is a tax-and-spend, big-government kind of Democrat, or is he a different kind of Democrat?

	<u>1/94</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/9</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>6/9</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>10/92</u>	
			<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	*	
Bill Clinton is a tax-and-spend, big-government Democrat.....	36	41	37	38	42	29	35	[42]
Bill Clinton is a different kind of Democrat.....	51	50	54	54	47	60	56	
Not sure.....	13	9	9	8	11	11	9	

*Asked only of registered voters.

- 6f. How confident are you that Bill Clinton has the right set of personal characteristics to be president of the United States--extremely confident, quite confident, only somewhat confident, or not at all confident?

	<u>1/94</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>11/1/92</u>	<u>10/92*</u>	<u>9/92*</u>	
				*			
Extremely confident.....	11	16	13	11	14	9	[43]
Quite confident.....	24	31	25	21	27	23	
Only somewhat confident.....	38	37	41	34	30	37	
Not at all confident.....	25	13	19	31	26	28	
Not sure.....	2	3	2	3	3	3	

(FORM A)

- 6g. As President Clinton prepares to deliver his State of the Union address, there are many important issues facing the country. Let me read you a list of some of these issues and, for each one, please tell me if you think this should be an absolute priority for the Clinton Administration and this year's Congress or something that can be delayed until next year. **(READ ITEM)** Do you think this issue should be an absolute priority for the Clinton Administration and this year's Congress, or is this something that can be delayed until next year?

	Absolute Priority For <u>This</u> <u>Year</u>	Can Be Delayed Until <u>Next</u> <u>Year</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Overhauling the health care system.....	67	31	2	[44]
Passing a campaign finance reform bill.....	32	59	9	[45]
Reforming the welfare system.....	83	14	3	[46]
Providing more aid to Russia.....	20	72	8	[47]
Dealing with the crime and violence problem...	93	6	1	[48]
Rebuilding the nation's highways and bridges. .	49	47	4	[49]

- 7a. Now, I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one do you feel is the most important economic issue facing the country? **(READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.)**

	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
		3	3							2			
Inflation.....	5	6	5	8	8	6	4	7	7	6	7	11	[50]
Unemployment.....	37	40	43	40	37	40	44	44	44	46	46	37	
Interest rates.....	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	3	
The federal budget deficit	31	25	26	26	31	28	28	28	28	24	22	21	
Federal taxes.....	8	11	12	11	10	11	9	7	5	5	5	7	
The U.S. trade deficit.....	9	7	6	8	6	8	7	8	8	10	8	8	
All equally important (VOL).....	5	7	4	4	4	4	5	3	5	5	8	10	
None is important (VOL).	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Not sure.....	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	

- 7b. Which one of the following do you think would be the most effective way to reduce unemployment?

Instituting government-sponsored job-retraining programs..	3	[51]
	2	
Increasing government spending to rebuild our highways and bridges.....	1	
	0	
Reducing federal regulations on business.....	1	
	5	
Reducing taxes for businesses and individuals.....	2	
	5	
Freezing the minimum wage.....	4	
Combination (VOL).....	4	
All (VOL).....	1	

None (VOL).....	3
Not sure.....	6

- 7c. During the past year, do you think the national economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

	1/94		12/9	2/92	12/91	9/91*	6/91	12/90	9/90*	7/90*	1/90*	8/89*	
Has gotten better	32	CONTINUE	26	6	3	8	11	3	6	11	12	18	[52]
Has gotten worse.....	17	SKIP	22	73	74	57	54	73	57	37	29	23	
Has stayed about the same.....	50	TO	50	20	22	33	35	23	35	51	57	57	
Not sure.....	1	Q.7e.	2	1	1	2	-	1	2	1	2	2	

*Asked only of registered

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THE ECONOMY HAS GOTTEN BETTER IN Q.7c)

- 7d. Who do you give the most credit for the country's economic upswing? * **(READ LIST. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

Clinton Administration.....	23	[53]
The Federal Reserve.....	4]
Congress.....	3	
Bush Administration.....	11	
American corporations.....	4	
The normal business cycle.....	49	
All equally (VOL).....	2	
None of these (VOL).....	-	
Not sure.....	4	

* Asked only of respondents who say the economy has gotten better.

(ASK EVERYONE.)

- 7e. During the next year, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

	1/94	12/93	10/9	9/9	7/93	6/93	4/9	3/9	1/9	12/9	5/9	9/9	
Will get better.....	44	43	21	23	20	23	33	39	50	53	32	31	[54]
Will get worse.....	16	19	27	24	29	27	21	15	9	10	20	24	
Will stay about the same.	36	34	50	51	48	47	44	43	39	35	45	40	
Not sure.....	4	4	2	2	3	3	2	3	2	2	3	5	

(FORM A)

8. Thinking about the job market across the country today, do you think the number of jobs available today is more, less, or about the same as the number of jobs that were available a year ago?

More.....	2	[55]
	0	
Less.....	4	
	2	
About the same.....	3	
	4	
Not sure.....	4	

(FORM A)

9. Thinking about the job market in your community today, do you think the number of jobs available today is more, less, or about the same as the number of jobs that were available a year ago?

More.....	2	[56]
	1	
Less.....	4	
	1	
About the same.....	3	
	6	
Not sure.....	2	

(FORM B)

10. As you may know, in recent years many businesses have had to lay off employees and restructure their company to make themselves more competitive. This process is often called "downsizing." Has this process of "downsizing" affected you personally?

Yes, downsizing has affected personally.....	2	[57]
	8	
No, downsizing has not affected personally.....	7	
	1	
Not sure.....	1	

(FORM B)

11. Still thinking about "downsizing," do you think most of the downsizing of American businesses is over, or do you think there is still more downsizing to come?

Most of the downsizing is over. .	1	[58]
	1	
Still more downsizing to come..	8	
	5	
Not sure.....	4	

- 12a. In the past two years, have you changed jobs?

Yes, have changed jobs...	2	CONTINUE	[59]
	3		1
No, have not changed jobs.....	7	SKIP TO	
	6	Q.13a	
Refused/not sure.....	1		

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE CHANGED JOBS IN THE PAST TWO YEARS IN Q.12a)

- 12b. Is your salary at your new job higher than your previous salary, lower than your previous salary, or equal to your previous salary? *

Higher than previous salary.....	3	[60]
	8	
Lower than previous salary.....	3	
	7	
Equal to previous salary..	2	
	2	
Refused (VOL).....	-	
Not sure.....	3	

* Asked only of respondents who have changed jobs in the past two years.

(ASK EVERYONE.)

- 13a. Compared to what you expected when Bill Clinton took office a year ago, do you feel that he has done better than you expected, worse than you expected, or just about as you expected?

Better than expected.....	1	[61]
	7	
Worse than expected.....	1	
	5	
Just about as expected.....	6	
	5	
Not sure.....	3	

- 13b. Now, I would like to read you a list of qualities by which a president might be judged. For each item, I would like you to tell me how you would rate Bill Clinton on that quality using a scale from 1 to 5, on which a "5" means you would give him a very good rating, a "1" means you would give him a very poor rating, and a "3" means you would give him a mixed rating. You can use any number between 1 and 5, depending on how strongly you feel.

(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:) When it comes to (READ ITEM), how would you rate Bill Clinton, using a five-point scale, on which a "5" means a very good rating, a "1" means a very poor rating, and a "3" means a mixed rating? (START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	Very Good 5	4	Mixed 3	2	Very Poor 1	Not Sure 6	
(BOTH FORMS)							
His ethical and moral values							
January 1994.....	13	20	35	13	17	2	[62]
October 1993.....	19	24	30	11	15	1	
January 1993.....	23	27	29	12	8	1	
(FORM A)							
Staying in touch with the American people							
January 1994.....	34	33	19	8	5	1	[63]
October 1993.....	28	29	25	11	7	-	
June 1993.....	25	25	29	10	10	1	
January 1993.....	46	27	20	4	2	1	
(FORM A)							
Serving as commander-in-chief							
January 1994.....	17	23	29	13	16	2	[64]
October 1993.....	14	18	32	16	19	1	
January 1993.....	20	23	39	8	8	2	
(FORM A)							
Representing traditional American values							
January 1994.....	19	25	26	14	15	1	[65]
October 1993.....	17	23	27	15	16	2	
January 1993.....	27	23	32	7	9	2	
(FORM B)							
Working with Congress							
January 1994.....	12	32	41	7	5	3	[66]
December 1993.....	4	12	44	29	9	2	
October 1993.....	12	29	41	12	4	2	
June 1993.....	5	18	45	16	12	4	
January 1993.....	24	32	31	5	2	6	
(FORM B)							
Dealing with the economy							
January 1994.....	9	20	38	18	14	1	[67]
December 1993.....	16	17	35	22	8	2	
October 1993.....	9	17	37	20	16	1	
(FORM B)							
Standing up to pressure							
January 1994.....	25	28	19	16	11	1	[68]
October 1993.....	23	25	26	14	11	1	
January 1993.....	29	29	27	6	5	4	

- 14a. Let me read you a list of some stories that have been in the news lately. For each one, please tell me whether you feel this is an important issue or something that does not concern you all that much. **(READ EACH ITEM.)** Is this a story that you feel is an important issue or is it something that does not concern you all that much?

	An Important <u>Issue</u>	Does Not Concern <u>That</u> <u>Much</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Government testing of radioactive materials on unknowing civilians during World War II.....	63	34	3	[69]
The Clintons' involvement with the Whitewater Development Corporation.....	41	50	9	[70]
Allegations by an Arkansas state trooper of sexual misconduct by President Clinton when he was governor.....	29	68	3	[71]

- 14b. When it comes to the situation with the Clintons and the Whitewater Development Corporation, critics of the President say he is concealing information about his and his wife's involvement with Whitewater to hide embarrassing or even illegal behavior. Bill Clinton says he actually lost money on the deal and that all the important facts about his involvement are already publicly known. Which side do you believe--the President or his critics?

Believe the President.....	43	[72]
Believe his critics.....	36	
Neither (VOL).....	4	
Some of both (VOL).....	5	
Not sure.....	12	

- 14c. As you may know, President Clinton has agreed to appoint an outside special prosecutor to investigate the Clintons' involvement with the Whitewater Development Corporation. In addition to this prosecutor, Senator Bob Dole is proposing the formation of a special Senate panel to investigate the matter. Do you think this special Senate panel is necessary or unnecessary in addition to the special prosecutor?

Necessary.....	3	[73]
	5	
Unnecessary.....	6	
	1	
Not sure.....	4	

- 14d. Based on what you have heard or read about the President's involvement with the Whitewater Development Corporation, has this situation made you feel less favorable toward Bill Clinton, or has it not really affected your opinion of the President one way or the other?

Opinion has become less favorable...	2	[74]
	1	
Has not affected opinion.....	7	
	6	
Not sure.....	3	

Now, I'd like to ask you a few questions about crime.

- 15a. In the town or city in which you live, would you say that crime and street violence are a critical problem, a major problem, a minor problem, or not really a problem?

	<u>1/94</u>	<u>1/92*</u>	
Critical problem.....	25	14	[75]
Major problem.....	32	25	
Minor problem.....	29	35	
Not really a problem.....	14	26	
Not sure.....	-	-	

* Asked only of registered voters

- 15b. Which one of the following statements comes closer to your point of view? **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

Statement A: It will be possible to reduce violent crime by making changes in the current criminal justice system.

Statement B: It will not be possible to reduce violence without a complete overhaul of our current criminal justice system.

Statement A/possible with changes to current criminal justice system.....	37	[76]
Statement B/not possible without complete overhaul of current criminal justice system.....	58	
Not sure.....	5	

- 15c. Thinking about the causes of crime in the country, which of the following do you think is the one factor most responsible for the recent problems with crime in the country--unemployment, drugs, availability of handguns, the breakdown of the family, or lenient sentencing?

Unemployment.....	8	[77]
Drugs.....	20	
Availability of handguns.....	7	
Breakdown of the family.....	30	
Lenient sentencing.....	13	
All (VOL).....	13	
None (VOL).....	-	
Combination (VOL).....	9	
Not sure.....	-	

- 15d. Have you, or has any member of this household, been the victim of a violent crime in the past 12 months?

Yes, have been a victim.....	7	[78]
No, have not been a victim.....	92	
Not sure.....	1	

(FORM B)

15e. Now I would like to read you some actions that have been proposed as ways to combat violent crime. For each one, please tell me if you think this will make a major difference in reducing violent crime, a minor difference, or no difference at all against violent crime. **(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:) Would (READ ITEM) make a major difference, a minor difference, or no difference at all in reducing violent crime? (START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Major Differenc e</u>	<u>Minor Differenc e</u>	<u>No Difference At All</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Placing higher fees on gun dealers					
January 1994.....	18	30	51	1	[79]
Toughening penalties for juvenile offenders, so young people know that there are severe consequences to crime					
January 1994.....	73	20	6	1	[80]
Sending juveniles who are found guilty of violent crimes to a boot camp-style prison					
January 1994.....	62	28	8	2	[81]
Placing one hundred thousand more police officers on the streets throughout the U.S.					
January 1994.....	52	37	10	1	[82]
December 1993.....	57	35	6	2	
Raising taxes on ammunition					
January 1994.....	17	33	49	1	[83]
December 1993.....	24	33	40	3	
Making more crimes punishable by capital punishment					
January 1994.....	64	21	12	3	[84]
Lowering to 14 the age at which juveniles can be tried as adults when accused of a crime					
January 1994.....	57	30	11	2	[85]
Mandating life sentences without parole for criminals convicted of three violent felonies					
January 1994.....	76	17	5	2	[86]
December 1993.....	75	17	5	3	
Building more prisons					
January 1994.....	39	33	26	2	[87]
December 1993.....	46	32	19	3	

- 15f. I would like to read you two statements about proposals to reduce crime. Please tell me which of the statements comes closer to your point of view. **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE.)**

Statement A: We need a tougher approach to crime with an emphasis on stricter sentencing, capital punishment for more crimes, and fewer paroles for convicted felons.

OR

Statement B: We need a tougher approach to dealing with the causes of crime with an emphasis on improving job and vocational training, family counseling, and the number of neighborhood activity centers for young people.

Statement A/have stricter punishments.....	42	[88]
Statement B/deal with the causes.	48]
Some of both (VOL).....	8	
Neither (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	1	

- 15g. Which one of the following statements about dealing with the drug problem comes closest to your own point of view?

Statement A: Legalize drugs, but strictly regulate their distribution.

Statement B: Concentrate on arresting and jailing drug dealers and do not prosecute occasional drug users.

Statement C: Arrest and jail all drug dealers and repeat offenders, but only fine first-time drug users.

OR

Statement D: Arrest and jail anyone at all who sells or uses drugs.

	<u>1/94</u>	<u>9/89*</u>	
Statement A/Legalize but regulate distribution.....	13	7	[89]
Statement B/Arrest dealers, but do not prosecute occasional users.....	15	12	
Statement C/Jail all dealers, but not first-time offenders.....	30	38	
Statement D/Arrest and jail all sellers and users.....	37	39	
Combination (VOL).....	2	NA	
None (VOL).....	1	1	
Not sure.....	2	3	

* Asked only of registered voters

- 15h. Let me read you four steps that might be taken by the government to deal with the drug problem. Please tell me which one you think would be the most effective in dealing with the drug problem. **(READ LIST SLOWLY, GIVING NUMBER WITH EACH CHOICE. RECORD RESPONSE BELOW. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>1/94</u>	<u>9/89</u> *	
1) More involvement with countries where drugs are produced to stop drug production.....	15	22	[90]
2) More and better education and anti-drug awareness programs.....	26	25	
3) Tougher law enforcement and sentences against people who sell and use drugs.....	46	39	
4) More and better treatment for people who use drugs.....	9	9	
None (VOL).....	1	1	
Not sure.....	3	4	

*
.

Now, some questions about health care.

- 16a. Which of the following statements comes closer to your point of view? **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

Statement A: It will be possible to control health care costs and cover all Americans by making changes in the current health care system.

Statement B: It will not be possible to control health care costs and cover all Americans without a complete overhaul of our current health care system.

	<u>1/94</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
Statement A/changes to current health care system.....	27	22	[91]
Statement B/complete overhaul of current health care system.....	68	74	
Not sure.....	5	4	

- 16b. Do you think that Congress will pass or will fail to pass some type of major health care reform this year?

	<u>1/94</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
Congress will pass major health care reform...	41	40	[92]
Congress will fail to pass major health care reform.....	54	53	
Not sure.....	5	7	

- 16c. From what you have heard or read, do you favor or oppose President Clinton's health care program?

	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/22/93</u> *	
Favor.....	42	47	47	51	[93]
Oppose.....	39	32	37	18	1
Need to know more (VOL).....	12	15	12	17	

Not sure..... 7 | 6 4 14

- 16d. Do you think Bill Clinton's health care plan should be passed by Congress pretty much as is, should Congress make major changes to President Clinton's plan, or should Congress not pass the plan at all?

	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	
President Clinton's plan should be passed as is.....	21	24	[94]
Congress should make major changes to President Clinton's plan.....	39	36	
Congress should not pass plan at all.....	18	15	
Congress should make <u>minor</u> changes to President Clinton's plan (VOL).....	9	11	
Not sure.....	13	14	

17. Relative to the amount of money spent on research for health problems such as heart disease and cancer, do you think the U.S. government spends too much money, not enough money, or just about the right amount of money on AIDS research?

Too much money.....	1	[95]
	5	
Not enough money.....	4	
	5	
Just about the right amount of money.....	2	
	9	
Not sure.....	1	
	1	

- 18a. I would like to read you two statements about the welfare system. Please tell me which of these statements about this issue comes closer to your point of view. **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE.)**

Statement A: The welfare system does more good than harm, because it provides assistance and training for those who are without jobs and live in poverty.

OR

Statement B: The welfare system does more harm than good, because it encourages the breakup of the family and discourages the work ethic.

Statement A/more good than harm.....	19	[96]
Statement B/more harm than good.....	71	
Some of both (VOL).....	6	
Neither (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	2	

- 18b. One proposal for revising the welfare system is to spend additional money on job training with a provision that a welfare recipient must get a job within two years or lose his or her benefits. Do you favor or oppose this kind of proposal?

Favor.....	84	[97]
Oppose.....	11	
Not sure.....	5	

Now, some questions about foreign policy.

- 19a. Which one of the following do you think is the most serious foreign policy issue facing the United States today? **(ROTATE ORDER. RECORD RESPONSE UNDER Q.19a BELOW.)**

Q.19a			
	<u>1/94</u>		<u>12/93</u>
The war between Bosnia and Serbia.....	15		14 [98]
Instability in Russia and the other countries that were part of the Soviet Union.....	30		21
The refusal of Haiti's military to give power back to the democratically elected government.....	4	CONTINUE	4
North Korea's development of a nuclear weapon..	23		31
The peace agreement between Israel and the Arabs.....	15		13
All equally (VOL).....	5	SKIP TO Q.19c (FORM B), Q.20a (FORM A).	8
None of these (VOL).....	1		2
Not sure.....	7		7
No most serious problem.....	NA		NA

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO CHOOSE A HIGHEST PRIORITY IN Q.19a.)

- 19b. And which one of these issues is the second most serious policy issue? **(READ LIST AGAIN, EXCLUDING ANSWER GIVEN IN Q.19a. RECORD UNDER COLUMN Q.19b. ABOVE.)**

Q.19b			
	<u>1/94</u>		<u>12/93</u>
The war between Bosnia and Serbia.....	16		14 [99]
Instability in Russia and the other countries that were part of the Soviet Union.....	24		19
The refusal of Haiti's military to give power back to the democratically elected government.....	5	CONTINUE	7
North Korea's development of a nuclear weapon..	20		21
The peace agreement between Israel and the Arabs.....	20		19
All equally (VOL).....	-	SKIP TO Q.19c (FORM B), Q.20a (FORM A).	-
None of these (VOL).....	-		-
Not sure.....	2		3

No most serious problem..... 13

| 17

(FORM B)

19c. If North Korea does not allow its nuclear production facilities to be inspected to confirm whether it is building a nuclear bomb, please tell me whether you would favor or oppose the following actions. **(READ ITEMS, START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Favor</u> <u>Action</u> <u>n</u>	<u>Oppose</u> <u>Action</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>Sure</u>	
Increasing the number of U.S. troops in the region				
January 1994.....	44	51	5	[100]
December 1993.....	45	49	6	
Launching a military strike to destroy North Korea's ability to build a bomb				
January 1994.....	29	64	7	[101]
December 1993.....	33	60	7	
Improving diplomatic and trade relations with North Korea if it guarantees not to build nuclear weapons and agrees to follow full inspections				
January 1994.....	87	9	4	[102]
December 1993.....	87	10	3	
Imposing economic sanctions on North Korea				
January 1994.....	69	22	9	[103]

(FORM A)

20a. Do you consider Russia to be an ally of the United States, an adversary, or neither an adversary nor an ally?

	<u>1/94</u>	<u>4/93</u>	
Consider Russia an ally.....	28	26	[104]
Consider Russia an adversary.....	10	10	
Consider Russia neither an ally nor an adversary. .	56	57	
Not sure.....	6	7	

20b. As you may know, the United States and several of its allies are currently considering launching air strikes on Bosnia to stop the civil war fighting in the region. Do you favor or oppose the United States' participation in this joint effort?

Favor.....	3	[105]
	5	
Oppose.....	5	
	6	
Not sure.....	9	

Finally, I'd like to ask you about modern technology and science.**(FORM B)**

- 21a. The term "multimedia," which you may have heard called "the information highway" or "interactive media," refers to a series of new technologies that will allow you to use your television to conduct all kinds of transactions, such as banking and shopping, as well as to enjoy new forms of entertainment, such as movie libraries and computer games.

Based on what you know, what is your initial reaction to the idea of multimedia--is it very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative?

Very positive.....	2	[106]
	5	
Somewhat positive.....	2	
	9	
Neutral.....	2	
	2	
Somewhat negative.....	1	
	2	
Very negative.....	9	
Not sure.....	3	

(FORM B)

- 21b. I would like to read you two statements about modern technology. Please tell me which of these statements comes closer to your point of view. **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE.)**

Statement A: Mergers between telephone companies and cable TV companies will help consumers because combining these technologies will make more options available.

OR

Statement B: Mergers between telephone companies and cable TV companies will hurt consumers because combining these technologies will concentrate too much power in just a few companies.

Statement A/mergers will help	3	[107]
consumers.....	8]
Statement B/mergers will hurt	5	
consumers.....	5	
Some of both (VOL).....	1	
Neither (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	5	

(FORM A)

- 22a. There has been a lot of talk in the news lately about advances in the use of genetics in medicine. How much would you say you know about the ways in which genetic testing and treatment might affect you or your family--a great deal, quite a bit, just some, very little, or nothing at all?

A great deal.....	1	[108]
	0	
Quite a bit.....	1	
	1	
Just some.....	2	
	8	
Very little.....	3	
	3	
Nothing at all.....	1	
	6	
Not sure.....	2	

(FORM A)

22b. Genetic testing may make possible the early detection of inherited diseases, such as heart disease and cancer, prior to the appearance of any symptoms. Do you favor or oppose allowing insurance companies and employers to have access to the results of these types of exams?

Favor allowing access.....	2	[109]
	7	
Oppose allowing access.....	7	
	0	
Not sure.....	3	

(FORM A)

22c. And is there any history of an inherited disease, such as cancer or heart disease, in your family?

Yes, history of inherited diseases in family.....	46	[110]
		1
No, no history of inherited diseases in family.....	52	
Not sure.....	2	

FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

F1. Did you happen to vote in the 1992 presidential election?

(IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote--George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or Ross Perot, the Independent?

Didn't vote.....	1	[111]
	5	
Voted for George Bush.....	2	
	9	
Voted for Bill Clinton.....	3	
	8	
Voted for Ross Perot.....	1	
	1	
Other candidate (VOL).....	-	
Too young (VOL).....	1	
Not sure/refused.....	6	

F2a. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or do you think your views cannot really be described in those terms?

Very liberal.....	4	[112]
Somewhat liberal.....	1	
	8	
Moderate.....	2	
	6	
Somewhat conservative.....	2	
	8	
Very conservative.....	8	
Views cannot be described in those terms.....	1	
	3	
Not sure.....	3	

F2b. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or a not very strong (Democrat/Republican)? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.")**

(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")**

Strong Democrat.....	1	[113]
	3	
Not strong Democrat.....	1	
	7	
Independent/lean Democrat.....	8	
Strictly Independent.....	1	
	8	
Independent/lean Republican.....	1	
	0	
Not strong Republican.....	1	
	3	
Strong Republican.....	1	
	3	
Other.....	5	
Refused.....	1	
Don't know/nothing.....	2	

F3. What is the last grade you completed in school? **(DO NOT READ CHOICES.)**

Grade school.....	1	[114]
Some high school.....	6	
High school graduate.....	3	
	3	
Some college, no degree.....	1	
	7	
Vocational training, 2-year college.....	1	
	0	
4-year college/Bachelor's degree.....	2	
	0	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	2	
2-3 years postgraduate work, Master's degree.....	9	
Doctoral degree/law degree.....	1	
Not sure.....	1	

F4. How old are you? **(IF REFUSED, ASK:)** Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	1	45-49.....	9	[115]
	1			
25-29.....	1	50-54.....	8	
	0			
30-34.....	1	55-59.....	7	
	1			
35-39.....	1	60-64.....	5	
	2			
40-44.....	1	65 and over.....	14	
	2			
		Refused.....	1	

F5. What type of work do you do?

	2	[116]
Professional/manager.....	4	
White collar worker.....	2	
	5	
Blue collar worker.....	2	
	1	
Farmer.....	1	
Student.....	3	
Homemaker.....	6	
Retired.....	1	
	6	
Unemployed.....	2	
Never worked/not sure.....	2	

(ASK OF ALL WOMEN:)

F6a. Do you work outside the home or not?

Work outside the home.....	3	[117]
	3	
Do not work outside the home.....	1	
	9	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

(ASK EVERYONE:)

F6b. Are you, or is any member of this household, a member of a labor union?

Respondent is union member.....	1	[118]
	1	
Other person in household is union member.....	7	
Non-union household.....	8	
	1	
Not sure.....	1	

- F6c. How would you describe the area in which you live--a large city, a suburb near a large city, a small city or town, or a rural or farming area?

Large city.....	25	[119]
Suburb.....	22	
Small city/small town.....	38	
Rural/farming area.....	14	
Not sure.....	1	

- F7. Do you have any children who live at home with you? **(IF HAVE CHILDREN AT HOME, ASK:)**
How old are your children? **(IF DECLINE TO GIVE AGES, ASK:)** Are your children under age 6, age 6 to 11, age 12 to 15, age 16 to 18, or over age 18? **(ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES.)**

<u>Yes, Have Children at Home</u>		[120]
Under age 6.....	1	>
	6	
Age 6 to 11.....	1	
	7	
Age 12-15.....	1	
	4	
Age 16-18.....	8	
Over age 18.....	9	
<u>No, Do Not Have Children At Home</u>	5	
	4	
<u>Not Sure/Refused</u>	1	

- F8a. Now I'd like to find out about your current health care coverage situation. Are you presently covered or not covered by health insurance? **(IF "COVERED," ASK:)** And is everyone in your immediate family living with you also covered by health insurance?

Covered By Health Insurance		CONTINUE	[121]
Respondent and everyone in immediate family.....	80		
Respondent, but not everyone in family.....	7		
Respondent, but not sure about family.....	-		
Not Covered By Health Insurance.....	12	SKIP TO Q.F9.	
Not Sure/Refused.....	1		

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO ARE CURRENTLY COVERED BY HEALTH INSURANCE IN Q.F8a.)

- F8b. Which one of the following statements best describes how your health insurance is paid for? **(READ CHOICES.)**

You or a family member pays the full cost.....	1	[122]
	4	
You or a family member pays part, and an employer pays part.....	4	
	4	
An employer pays the full cost.....	1	
	7	
The government pays through Medicare or Medicaid.....	6	
Combination (VOL).....	6	
Not sure.....	-	
Not covered/not sure if covered (Q.F8a.).....	1	
	3	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO ARE CURRENTLY COVERED BY HEALTH INSURANCE IN Q.F8a.)

- F8c. Is your health insurance provided by an HMO, that is, a health maintenance organization?

Provided by an HMO.....	3	[123]
	4	
Not provided by an HMO.....	5	
	6	
Not sure.....	1	
	0	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

F9. Do you have cable TV in your home?

Yes, have cable TV.....	6	[124
	8]
No, do not have cable	3	
TV.....	1	
Not sure.....	1	

F10. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	5	[125]
	1	
Catholic.....	3	
	1	
Jewish.....	2	
Other.....	1	
	1	
None.....	4	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F11. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

White.....	80	[126]
Black.....	11	
Hispanic.....	5	
Asian.....	2	
Other.....	1	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F12. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	8	[127]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	1	
	4	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	1	
	6	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	1	
	5	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	1	
	4	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	1	
	4	
More than \$75,000.....	1	
	2	
Not sure/refused.....	7	

F13. This survey is being conducted as part of continuing coverage of national issues by NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. A few reporters assigned to this story will be calling back a selected number of participants to get additional insights. Would you have any objection to being contacted?

Do not object.....	8	[128]
	7	
Object--do not call.....	1	

